

Four U.S. Navy Men Withdraw From War

THE MILITANT

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NY Demonstrators Confront Sec. Rusk

By Les Evans

NEW YORK, Nov. 14 — Thousands of antiwar demonstrators greeted Secretary of State Dean Rusk here tonight in one of the most militant antiwar actions yet seen in New York.

Rusk was slated to speak at 9 p.m. at a lush banquet in the New York Hilton Hotel before 800 government and society blue-bloods. By 5:30 there were thousands assembling on the streets around the hotel to show the warmaker their opposition to the administration's policies.

Throughout the evening demonstrators showed their irreverence for the well-heeled banquets, booing lustily whenever a chauffeur-driven limousine drove up to the hotel.

A massive army of cops, 1,500 in all, swarmed over the area. They set up barricades, forcing demonstrators out of the streets and splitting up the demonstration into a number of segments that were packed onto sidewalks in a three-block area around the hotel.

Wall of Cops

Police surrounded each block of demonstrators with a solid wall of club-brandishing cops. A number of side streets were blocked off by the police who refused to allow anyone through, turning away hundreds who had come to join the demonstration. In spite of this there were more than 10,000 in the protest.

The demonstrators, mostly students and youth, were in a very militant mood. There were enthusiastic chants of "Hell no, we won't go!"; "Peace Now!" and "Rusk — Murderer!" Some sections of the crowd shouted "Viva Che!"

As more people arrived they were jammed into a tighter and tighter mass. People demanded that police allow a single, unified demonstration to take place. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, scored the police for violating an agreement with the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee to allow a mass picket line directly across the street from the hotel on Sixth Ave. After a few hundred people had begun picketing at that spot, police blocked it off.

As the crowd began to overflow sidewalks the cops started shoving people who were pressed too close to their lines. The crowd at 53rd St. and Sixth Ave. surged into the street.

The cops moved in, clubs swinging. Mounted police charged into the crowd, their horses knocking people down. In a few minutes

the demonstrators had been driven back into the tightly packed space on the sidewalks. The crowd was growing angry at the police actions.

Cops began to prod people with their clubs. Someone seized a cop's club and it disappeared into the crowd.

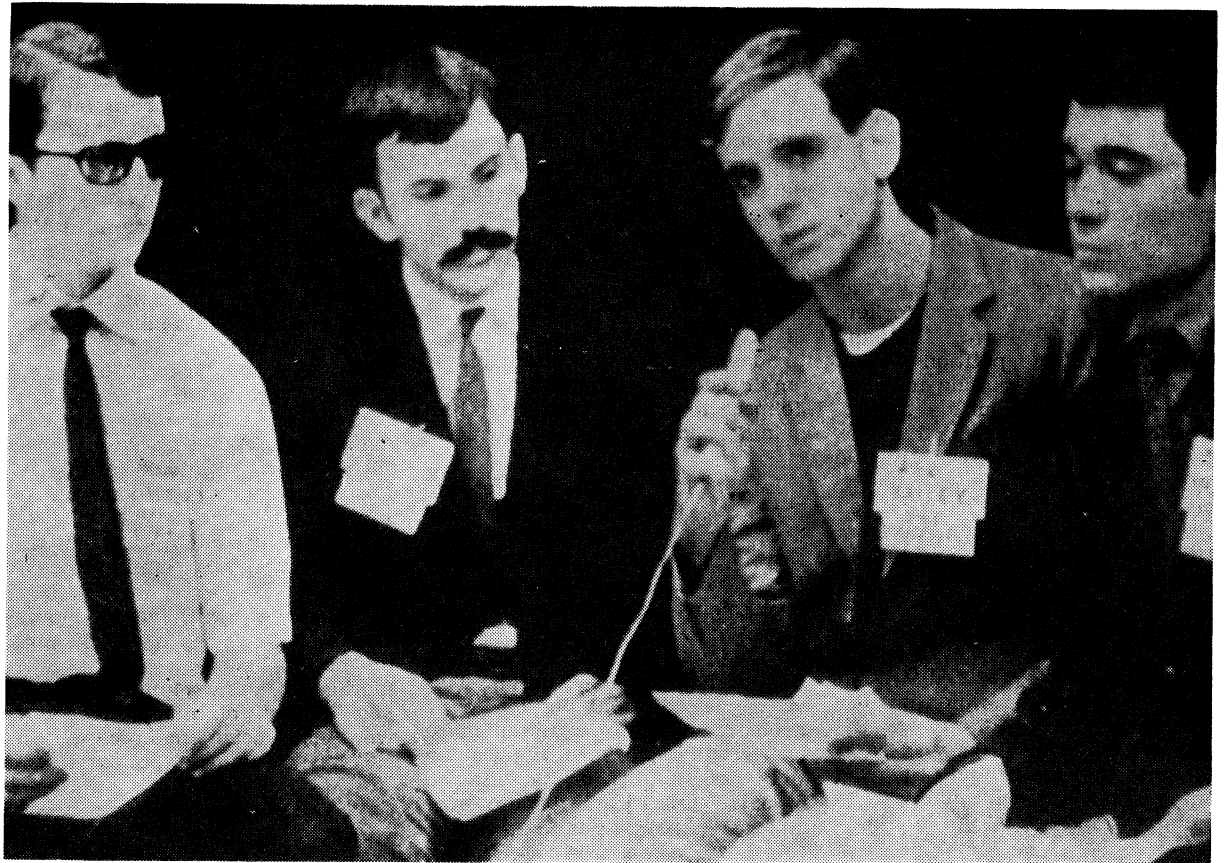
Shortly after this the police carried out the most violent attack of the night. They claim that a cop was struck by a flying object. Whatever the pretext, the police moved in to rout about 500 demonstrators on the southeast corner of 53rd St. and Sixth Ave.

Police attacked from three sides, from both streets and from a stone wall behind the demonstrators. The fourth side was a solid mass of demonstrators, thousands, stretching the length of the block. There was no place to escape from the onslaught.

Cops rode into the crowd on horseback swinging right and left. Girls were clubbed and then dragged off by the hair. Many demonstrators defended themselves and fought back when the cops came at them.

This reporter was standing on the wall at the back of the demonstration.

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FOUR SAILORS. From left to right, Alfred Lindner, 19, Craig Anderson, 20, Richard Bailey, 19, and John Barilla in filmed interview where they told of their decision to desert because of war.

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Nov. 14 — "I appeal to the youth of America as a fellow young American to stop the war machine," stated 20-year-old Craig Anderson, one of the four sailors who deserted the USS *Intrepid* in Japan, Oct. 23.

The declaration expressed the feelings of all four sailors as they explained their reasons for leaving the Navy and their intentions of continuing the fight against the war. They don't expect to be able to return to the United States and intend to seek asylum in a nation "not participating in the war."

Anderson, John Barilla, Richard Bailey and Michael Lindner read a joint statement and individual statements about their heroic stand at a filmed press conference in Japan, Nov. 1. The film of the conference was transported to this

country by Dartmouth professor Ernest Young, and it was shown in a New York press conference today.

All the major papers, local and national TV networks and international press services covered the New York conference. They subjected Young to an hour-long cross-questioning in an attempt to find grounds for discrediting the sailors — and came away pretty discouraged.

Anderson, Barilla, Bailey and Lindner have no political affiliations. They come from typical American families. They are 19 and 20 years old, have no college education — one dropped out of high school — and two had nearly completed their four-year Navy stints.

The only thing was they opposed the criminal U.S. military "slaughter of civilians" and wanted out.

They weren't afraid to say so and hoped "that other Americans, particularly those in the military, the people of Japan and of all countries can be spurred into action to work towards stopping this war."

The aircraft carrier *Intrepid*, stationed off the coast of North Vietnam, was a launching pad for daily bombing attacks. At night, the four sailors could see flashes in the dark. That was the closest they came to battle.

Bailey, who is the son of a Navy commander, explained some of the reasons for their decision. One of the things that most influenced him was a Navy indoctrination film shown on board the *Intrepid*. It showed Marines and South Vietnamese army troops in battle. "You couldn't tell who you were fighting," Bailey said.

Fragmentation Bomb

He also mentioned that he was particularly disturbed by one of the bombs loaded from the *Intrepid* — an antipersonnel fragmentation bomb that exploded on the ground into 800 bomblets. The only thing it could destroy is people.

The four sailors told Professor Young that they had been encouraged in this stand by the American antiwar movement. They deserted while on leave in Japan two days after the international Oct. 21 mobilization, which included massive demonstrations in Japan.

Anderson, Barilla, Bailey and Lindner hadn't discussed the desertion much before they took the final step. Then they walked around telling Japanese people what they had done. They explained that they were treated well and eventually met a Japanese student opposed to the war who directed them to the Be-Heiren, the Vietnam Peace League.

It was this organization that sponsored the Japan press conference and sought Professor Young to come to Japan to bring the film back to the American antiwar movement. The Be-Heiren is not affiliated with any political organizations and is composed of writers, artists and intellectuals.

Four Be-Heiren members took

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Photo by Shannon

ANTIWAR SIGN. Demonstrators hold up two fingers in sign borrowed from Berkeley antiwar movement. New York demonstration was militant in spirit. Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee had called action in protest of Rusk's visit.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The New York City Social Service Employees Union became the first union in the country to sponsor a written referendum of its membership to determine whether the union should take a position in favor of the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

At a Nov. 8 membership meeting of the union, there was an overwhelming vote in favor of having a referendum, and the motion to have the wording of "immediate withdrawal" passed by a 3-2 margin.

The membership meeting was organized by the Welfare Workers Committee for Peace in Vietnam, which collected petitions from 2,000 caseworkers calling for such a meeting. The committee, demonstrating the relevance of the war to bread-and-butter issues of the union, cited the rising cost of living (the Consumer Price Index for New York City has risen from 113.4 in January 1966 to 119.7 in October 1967), higher taxes and the current attack on the anti-poverty program, all of which have been aggravated by the war.

The committee feels that it is imperative for the union to use all its facilities to fight for immediate withdrawal, as well as to educate the membership of the union about the war and why it must be opposed.

In a vicious move against pub-

lic employee unions, AFL-CIO President George Meany called for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes involving federal employees. According to the Oct. 28 *AFL-CIO News*, Meany proposes a panel to settle disputes, which would be composed of two members each from labor and management (that is, the government), and an "impartial" chairman, all appointed by the President, who happens to be management also.

Meany recommended that the scope of collective bargaining include all negotiable subjects "as long as they are not inconsistent" with any laws. But this includes all the antilabor and strike-breaking laws. Meany is knifing public employees by collaborating with Johnson to prevent them from bargaining and striking effectively.

Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees (AFL-CIO) in New York, won an important victory Oct. 17 in a State Labor Relations Board vote among 1,000 clerical, professional and technical employees of Albert Einstein College of Medicine. The vote was 619-193 in favor of the union. This victory is the culmination of a drive for union recognition started by the workers themselves. They joined 1199, and threatened a strike unless the dispute over collective bargaining representation could be resolved.

—Howard Reed

Memorial for Steve Roberts Held in Los Angeles, Nov. 10

LOS ANGELES — The many facets of Steve Roberts' personality, his unusual organizational abilities, his wonderful spirit of youthfulness, and above all his devotion to the cause of revolutionary socialism, were repeatedly emphasized at the memorial meeting held Friday, Nov. 10, where his comrades and many friends gathered to pay tribute to his memory. Steve Roberts died on Oct. 16.

In his opening remarks chairman Oscar Coover set the tone by indicating that this memorial was not for the purpose of mourning Steve Roberts' death, but rather to celebrate his life.

Ruth Harer, representing the San Francisco branch of the Socialist Workers Party, remarked that in San Francisco Steve was looked upon by the young people as an honorary member of the young people's organizations because "wherever the youth were, that's where Steve was."

Speaking for the Young Socialist Alliance was Julius Snipper, who stressed Steve's interest in the student movement.

Among those paying tribute to Steve's memory was Martin Hall, executive committee member of the Peace Action Council, who had worked very closely with Steve during the active years of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Milton Alvin, leading member of the Socialist Workers Party, traced Steve's many years of activities from the 1930's, when he first allied himself with the socialist movement and contributed his time and talents helping to organize workers into the CIO.

One of the high points of the meeting was a message written by one of Steve's sons, Harold, entitled "In Memory of Steve," which was read to the audience by Sheavy Geldman. The message stands as a beautiful tribute to an unusual man.

"Some time today a colorless plane will scatter his ashes over the blue Pacific. The cancer will be gone, the body will be gone,

but the man will live.

"What kind of a man was he? I keep asking myself as the ashes mingle with the seaweed and give them life. Who really was my father? I know so little about him and now I search for some insight as the waves caress his ashes into eternity....

"What kind of man was he? He was many men, a father — a lover — a piercing radical, a Cuban man — a wandering man — a lonely man, a traveling man, a man to himself — Lil's man.

"What kind of man was he? I don't know for sure. He has so many secrets. I can't pinpoint one avenue of his life that leads to an end. He was a faraway man — a clean man — a mad man — a comfortable man — a soft-spoken man — a searching man — a talented man — Jim's man....

"What kind of a man was he? A man three boys went searching for — a passionate man — a charming man — a well-read man — a deceptive man.

"What kind of man was he? A note-making man — a family man — Lenin's man — Castro's man — Marx's man — Albie Booth's man — Red Sanders' man — a party man.

"What kind of a man was he? A cause man, a spirited man, a free man — a man of our time — a 20th century man — a disturbed man — a man who gave me life — a man whom I loved, and yet, in some way I will not miss him in the usual sense, for I find it so very difficult to pick out from all that he was that which I will miss the most.

"What kind of a man was he? A man of our times, free as a bird, hunted as a lion, a lover of humanity, the dynamics behind my philosophy.

"I write this as the plane warms up and you get ready to gather here tonight. We all knew him differently and I want you to understand and see, not one side of Steve, but all that he was. Then you can be sure his life was not in vain."

PAUL BOUTELLE REPORTS

Socialism and Race Prejudice

By Paul Boutelle

One of the questions I have been asked repeatedly while speaking on various campuses is "How will socialism work toward the elimination of racial prejudice?" This is a big question, and the full answer would lie in a complete explanation of how capitalism gave birth to racial discrimination and racism. Capitalism finds racism useful, profitable and necessary. Racist exploitation is intertwined and rooted in the system of capitalist exploitation.

Following is part of the answer I gave to this question in an interview printed in *Black 67*, a new magazine put out by militants in Houston, Tex. (A copy costs 25 cents and can be obtained by writing to the magazine at P.O. Box 88012, Houston, Texas 77004.)

"Well, the socialist society is a society that will remove the economic foundation that breeds class, racial and religious prejudice. Cuba is a very good example of that. Now, racism will not be eliminated overnight — it has not been completely eliminated in Cuba.

"Whenever you have an oppressive society, which has been able to poison people's minds and morals for a few hundred years, you cannot eliminate overnight what that society has created. Socialism will lay the foundation for



IN HARLEM. Cuban revolutionary leader Juan Almeida, left, in Harlem cafe. Almeida was part of Cuban delegation when Castro made speech to United Nations.

eliminating these types of things.

"If socialism came into existence here in America, black people would play a major part in the new society and in the governing order. They would be able to make sure, because they would be armed and in a position to make sure, that they are not just exchanging an old master for a new master.

"A social change could not take place in America unless black people play a major part in it or are

even the leaders of it....

"If millions of black people make a change in America, and they are armed, you can be sure that the old racist exploiters would not be able to reestablish racism or the capitalist system; it would be impossible for that to happen."

* * *

It is indeed good to see CORE and SNCC coming to the defense of LeRoi Jones, and to learn that public meetings of protest are being organized by Afro-Americans in behalf of him and his co-defendants in the Newark frame-up. LeRoi Jones is not only an illustrious son of the black community — he is also one of the most talented young intellectuals in this country. When are the white intellectuals going to speak up against the violence that was perpetrated on him and the monstrous injustice that was committed against him in the courts of New Jersey? It is easy — and cheap — for American intellectuals to protest injustice against Soviet intellectuals like Sinyavsky and Daniel on the other side of the world. But what does it mean if at the same time they are silent about equally vile crimes against an outstanding black intellectual right here at home?

Ron Lockman Sentenced To 2½ Years

Pvt. Ronald Lockman was sentenced to two and a half years at hard labor by an army court-martial in San Francisco Nov. 13 for refusing to obey orders to go to Vietnam. He is to be dishonorably discharged.

"I would do it again," Lockman declared to the court. The antiwar GI was arrested Sept. 15 when he refused to board transportation for Vietnam.

Lockman's attorney, Stanley Faulkner, said he would ask the Supreme Court to act on a habeas corpus protest that the court-martial barred challenges of the Vietnam war's constitutionality.

Antiwar protesters staged support demonstrations for Lockman in and around the courtroom where the trial took place. Seven were arrested for trespassing. Lockman is a leader of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America.

In another development the same day the Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of Capt. Howard Levy. Levy is serving a three-year term for refusing to teach medicine to Green Berets and criticizing U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Levy plans to carry through a series of appeals in lower courts and then renew his appeal to the Supreme Court when these are exhausted.

George Frosig

By Marvel Scholl

We have learned that George Frosig is dead. To those of us who knew and worked with him, this brings sorrow. But to those of you who may never have heard his name before, we say: there are countless unsung heroes of the revolutionary and labor movement who have prepared the way for you. George Frosig was one of these.

Born in Denmark some 70-odd years ago, George was first a merchant seaman and, after migrating to this country, a truck driver. He came, as did so many other Scandinavians, to Minnesota. In Minneapolis he joined the then tiny Teamsters Local 574 and soon became vice president. Local 574 at that time was composed of a small body of trucking employees, working for about a dozen companies, generally under closed-shop contracts. Its leadership, except for George and one or two others, were men who had grown old in the industry and were unwilling to disturb their own comfortable situations to organize the great mass of unorganized workers.

It was through the influence of exceptional officials like George Frosig that members of the Socialist Workers Party and other worker militants were able to break down the doors of the union in a general organizational drive.

The year 1934 still stands as a bright period — thousands of underpaid, overworked truck drivers and their co-workers in Minneapolis, fought a series of battles that changed that city from an open-shop town to a union city.

The three-day coal strike in February, 1934, was the beginning. It was followed by a general truck strike in May, 1934, which lasted only 10 days, and, although a victory for the union, had to be refought for two long, hot months during July and August. George was one of the leaders in these battles.

After the strikes were won Teamsters International President Daniel Tobin, in a vain attempt to unseat the new leadership, revoked the union's charter. He sent his goons into the city to organize his idea of a "good" union — one which could get along with the

bosses' organization, the Citizens Alliance.

George stood up both against the intense pressure of other Teamsters Joint Council leaders who remained loyal to Tobin, and against a severe physical beating he got at the hands of the goons. He never fully recovered from a leg injury suffered during this beating. During the next year and a half, while the young union forged in the heat of the 1934 battles fought for its life, George stood solid in his loyalty and action. It was during this period that he formally joined the Socialist Workers Party, remaining true to the socialist beliefs he had developed as a youth in the old country.

After Local 574 won its fight against Tobin and his boss-allies and was readmitted into the International Teamsters Union, George was a member of the staff of the newly named Local 544, which was to spearhead a unionization drive throughout the Twin Cities and the whole area.

In 1941 when President Roosevelt came to the assistance of Daniel Tobin in his new attack on the militant union by indicting the leaders of the SWP and Local 544 under the infamous Smith Act, George remained firm in his support of his comrades. After that battle he found himself blacklisted from employment because of his militant union record. He made his way west to Seattle, only to find that Tobin's blacklist had been extended to that area, under the leadership of the notorious Dave Beck, head of the Western Conference of Teamsters.

Forced to live from hand to mouth for the rest of his life, George nevertheless held on to his socialist principles. He gave valuable assistance to the Seattle branch of the SWP in putting its presidential tickets on the ballot and made financial contributions far in excess of his limited means.

George Frosig would not welcome sentimental words of farewell. But we who remember him best cannot refrain from tipping our flag of brightest red in his honor as he leaves us to join the ever growing number of 1934 Pioneers who are no longer alive.

OKLA. FREE SPEECH FIGHT

Sen. Thurmond Attacks Boutelle

By Doug Jenness

NOV. 14 — Although Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, spoke at the University of Oklahoma nearly a month ago, the storm of controversy he stirred up has not yet subsided. For three weeks he has been the subject of numerous newspaper editorials, letters to the editor, front-page features, legislative investigations, FBI reports, a senatorial tongue-lashing and dozens of campus "bull sessions."

On the day after Boutelle spoke at his second meeting on campus, OU President George L. Cross told a general faculty meeting, "In my 24 years here at the University I have never had so many phone calls concerning one subject."

At the heart of the controversy is the right of free speech and the relationship of the state government to academic freedom in Oklahoma's state universities.

Boutelle's appearance at the University was used as a pretext by several state legislators to launch a public attack against the school.

In a front-page article in the *Oklahoma City Times* it was reported that State Representative Texanna Hatchett warned that the University may have some appropriation difficulties "if it doesn't do some house-cleaning." The article went on to explain that Representative John Miskelly had called a meeting of the entire Oklahoma County delegation of state legislators to discuss Boutelle's appearance.

Clem McSpadden, president pro tempore of the Oklahoma Senate, emphatically declared that he was "unalterably opposed" to allowing Boutelle to speak and that "the quicker we get rid of these people the better off we are."

The right-wing protests led to

Some 500 Hear Taped Speech

Thurmond Blasts Boutelle During Pro-War Rally

By NICK HORVATH
Daily Staff Writer

Sen. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., said "Communists won't be satisfied until they conquer the world" and appealed for "100 per cent support for the war in Vietnam" in a taped speech before some 500 applauding spectators during a pro-war rally on the chilly South Oval Thursday evening.

THE RALLY, sponsored by the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), saw standing ovations given to two speeches by Iron Curtain refugees and prolonged applause after an address by U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, ...

"It is disgusting and sickening to see American men attempt to evade the draft," said Thurmond. "I'm an American, and I'm backing victory in Vietnam with all the support I can personally muster."

THURMOND IS the national advisor to the YAF, and said of the organization "it is groups like the YAF which demonstrate to me that America is great."

Referring to Paul Boutelle, the militant Black Nationalist whose two-day appearance at OU earlier in the week ignited storms of controversy, Thurmond exclaimed "if people like Boutelle don't appreciate the greatness of this free nation, they should leave to live elsewhere."

RACIST UPSET. Headline in "Oklahoma Daily," student newspaper at Oklahoma University.

the canceling of a scheduled meeting for Boutelle in Oklahoma City. The meeting was arranged by several VISTA volunteers and was to be held at the teen center owned by the Urban Renewal Authority. The Rev. William Charleton, head of VISTA in the city, said "the meeting was canceled because of publicity."

Boutelle's first appearance on the OU campus on Oct. 17 was at a Vietnam teach-in sponsored by the OU Committee to End the War in Vietnam. On the next evening he spoke to an audience of nearly 600. The meeting was sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society. Originally the Southwest

Center for Human Relations Studies was also a sponsor but it backed out under the pressure.

Jack Middleton, a specialist for the human relations center, had worked with SDS in setting up the meeting. For this activity the administration gave him a reassignment of his duties. The administration's action was sharply criticized by four campus ministers in a letter to the University's Board of Regents. The ministers said that they "categorically oppose any effort to ban speakers from the University campus who have been properly invited by official groups," and they condemned any attempt by the state or the University to penalize University employees for arranging speakers.

As the sponsor of the meeting, SDS became a target for some of the right-wing fire. Two days after the meeting, the *Oklahoma City Times*, one of Oklahoma's largest newspapers, carried a front-page article entitled, "FBI Links Communists, SDS."

The article said, "It [the FBI report] called SDS a 'new left' organization helping the DuBois Clubs promote Communist programs 'principally by encouraging agitation and fomenting discord among the youth of our nation.'"

Nearly a week after Boutelle had left the campus, the *Daily Oklahoman*, a prominent Oklahoma City paper, carried an editorial entitled "Abusing the First Amendment." Protesting "such degrading experiences as the Pentagon demonstrations and Boutelle's envenomed harangues at OU," the editorial attacked both the antiwar movement and the right of free speech.

Perhaps Boutelle's most prominent attacker was U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.). The day after Boutelle spoke, Senator Thurmond was the featured speaker at a prowar rally sponsored by Young Americans for Freedom. In an article entitled "Boutelle Attacked by Strom Thurmond," Nick Howarth, reporting for the *Oklahoma Journal* (Oct. 20) quoted Thurmond as saying "if men like Boutelle didn't appreciate America they should live elsewhere." Perhaps he thinks Boutelle should go back to Harlem.

These racist and witch-hunting attacks did not occur, however, without some resistance. On Oct. 25, the Oklahoma State University Professors (AAUP) passed a resolution denouncing the FBI report.

On Oct. 30, OU's chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) passed a statement declaring that it "wishes to go on record as approving the right of both student and faculty groups to invite such controversial speakers as Paul Boutelle."

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part in the filmed conference, all of them prominent intellectuals. They were Prof. Rokuro Hidaka of the University of Tokyo; Prof. Shunshe Tsurumi of Boshisha University; and Ken Kaiko and Oda Makoto, both well-known novelists.

The film of the press conference will be distributed by various organizations in the American antiwar movement, including the National Mobilization Committee. It begins with Richard Bailey reading a joint statement, after which each of the sailors reads his individual statement; following this they are questioned by the Be-Heiren participants; and then the Be-Heiren members themselves make statements (these had not been translated by the time of today's press conference and were consequently not shown).

"You are looking at four deserters," Bailey began in reading the joint declaration. "Four patriotic deserters from the United States Armed Forces. Throughout history, the name 'deserter' has applied to cowards, traitors and misfits. We are not concerned with categories or labels.

"We have reached the point where we must stand up for what we believe to be the truth. This overshadows the consequences imposed by the categories."

The joint statement declares in part, "We believe that the U.S. must discontinue all bombing and pull out of Vietnam, letting the Vietnamese people govern themselves . . .

"We believe that the people of Japan, seeking peace in Vietnam, should unite with the Americans and all other peaceful people of the world in a united stand against the war . . .

"We oppose American military forces in Vietnam, but not Americans . . . It is our fervent hope that our actions will move you, wherever you are, whoever you are, to do whatever you can to bring peace to Vietnam."

In his personal statement, John Barilla declared: "I enlisted in the Navy almost two years ago, shortly after graduating from high school. I spent most of my life in Baltimore, Maryland, and most of my time staying happy while maintaining average grades in school . . .

"I can no longer betray my own humanitarian beliefs and ideals of peace shared by so many throughout the world, by further engaging myself in the war. One of my strongest feelings against the Vietnamese conflict is that no one seems to have a reasonable argument for it."

Michael Lindner declared, "I regret that I will never be able to see my family because of what I believe in and stand up for — these things that are guaranteed me by the Bill of Rights and denied me by the military . . .

"I believe that my presence in supporting the Vietnam war was immoral and entirely inhumane. To take another person's life for any reason is crime against myself as well as the person whose blood I am shedding.

"I say 'supporting the Vietnam war' instead of 'fighting for the United States in Vietnam' because I don't feel I was doing something for the land or the people of America, which and whom I love

in the same way the Vietnamese love their land and their people (what's left of them) . . .

"It is too bad that I will be labeled with some kind of 'ist' pronoun and categorized with an 'ism' for my beliefs. I claim no political affiliation and do not want to be classified in any way except as being an American who refuses to support mass military slaughters."

Before and during the press conference, reporters were trading notes on ways of disparaging the sailors and the sponsors of the conference (*Liberation* magazine).

A *New York Times* correspondent scoured the walls of the loft in which the conference was held to find a photo of a nude girl. After that, he went around to the rest of the reporters, drawing attention to the photo and suggesting its ramifications so far as the "types connected with this" are concerned.

It remains to be seen what angles the capitalist press will come up with to "do the job" on these four courageous opponents of U.S. militarism. Their film left me with the feeling that the days of capitalist violence and thought-molding are numbered.

Little Cheer For MacBird

As if having one's Sunday sermon interrupted by a preacher opposed to the war isn't enough, Lyndon Johnson's Monday morning breakfast (Nov. 13) was greeted by a Louis Harris poll showing 44 percent in favor of getting out of Vietnam "as quickly as possible."

This marked a jump from 24 percent favoring this position in July, nearly doubling the figure in three months — and just when Johnson was going around the country telling soldiers that there is "unity" behind the war.

The same poll showed that 77 percent of those interviewed gave "LBJ handling the war" a negative rating and 77 percent also checked negative on "LBJ inspiring confidence." Rumor has it that Lady Bird, at least, still favors her husband's policies.

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... Stokes Victory

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Both candidates have taken a tough attitude toward the black rebellions of this summer, and they can be expected to act not much differently from their white predecessors when new revolts occur. Stokes is opposed to a civilian police review board and has sponsored a bill in the state legislature regulating the sale of firearms.

It is a mistake to think that black people can be independent of the ruling class and remain within the Democratic Party, which the rulers control and finance. An editorial on the Hatcher-Stokes elections that appears in the Nov. 12 *Worker* shows no understanding of this fact. Hailing the "historic victories" of Stokes and Hatcher, the editorial draws the conclusion that "it is possible to challenge the present controllers of the country's political life in the Democratic and Republican parties and beat them on their home grounds by independent political action." Independent of whom? If Johnson, Humphrey, Kennedy and other such supporters of Hatcher and Stokes are not considered part of "the present controllers of the country's political life," than who is?

The lesson to be drawn from the election is the opposite of that reached by the *Worker*. It shows what potential power black people have if they enter politics outside of the Democratic Party. It shows it is the racist Democratic Party that needs the Afro-American voters, not vice versa.

The victory in Gary was especially illustrative of this, because Hatcher had the active opposition of the county Democratic machine. When Hatcher refused to become the complete tool of local Democratic Party Chairman John Krupa, the latter attacked Hatcher viciously and was reported to

have made the statement that Hatcher was not the "right kind" of Negro. Krupa boasted that he would "groom" such a Negro candidate after Hatcher was defeated.

The desperation felt by the Democratic Party hacks in Gary was shown when they tried, literally, to steal the election by such crude methods as adding fictitious names to the election rolls and illegally crossing off names of black voters. When they were caught red-handed, a special three-judge panel forced Krupa, who also happens to be Secretary of the Election Board, to replace the names. As it turned out, the election was so close (39,330 to 37,941) that these votes probably made the difference.

A headline in the Oct. 29 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reads, "Gary's Black Revolt Could Wreck Democrats." Although Hatcher's loyalty to the Democratic Party means that it is only the small potatoes Gary Democratic machine that could be "wrecked" as a result of this election — the headline reflects the constant fear aroused by the threat of black power. If black people had a political party which could provide a real alternative to the Stokes and Hatchers, it could challenge the Republicans and Democrats for control of many cities. It could split the white vote, even more than did the Stokes and Hatcher elections, if it were organized to fight for demands relevant to many whites — demands which are not being met by the two parties — such as an end to the war in Vietnam.

Stokes and Hatcher have already shown that they are going to disapprove those who voted for them. As a result there is an important opportunity for education on the need for independence from the Democratic Party and the ruling class and the need for an independent black political movement.

Report from Bolivian Underground

[The following is a report from Bolivian underground fighters in the Trotskyist movement.]

LA PAZ, Bolivia — The Latin American national bourgeois and imperialist news agencies have hastily prophesied the liquidation of the guerrillas in Bolivia and the failure of armed struggle — advocated by Comandante Ernesto Guevara, Fidel Castro, and the Cuban revolution — as a method of struggling for power. But they are mistaken.

It is true that the assassination of "Che" Guevara is a heavy blow to the Bolivian guerrilla struggle. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that guerrilla war, in Bolivia as in any other country in which it arises, has deep national and world economic causes.

With regard to Bolivia, guerrilla war is nothing more than the continuation of the class struggle on the level of arms. To facilitate grasping this, a summary of the current situation faced by the Bolivian people can prove useful.

Since Nov. 4, 1964, power has been in the grip of a military caste, shaped and educated in the courses provided by the Pentagon in the Panama Canal Zone, in Guatemala, etc. The regime is at present under the strict control of Yankee military commissions.

1964 Takeover

The 1964 military coup d'état was called the "restoring revolution." In actuality, the military caste intensified and carried to its logical conclusion the antilabor, antinational policies that the MNR [Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] had already initiated in the final stages of its exercise of power. It should be recalled that it was during the administration of Siles Suazo that the destruction of the unions was begun by means of armed attacks, that it was during the regime of Paz Estenssoro that the army occupied the mines, precipitating the first battles like the one at Sora Sora.

In power, the "gorillas" restored the laws favoring imperialism and "la rosca" [tin barons] which the insurgent masses had overturned in 1952.

Within a few months after taking power (May, 1965), the military junta went over to the offensive. Decrees were issued lowering the wages and salaries of all sectors of the working class. In the nationalized mines this amounted to 50 percent. Next, also by decree, the trade unions were dissolved and military administrators and receivers were placed in charge of the unions' resources. These measures were climaxed by a Union Regulation by means of which the Ministry of Labor appointed leaders in the unions.

Shortly after this, to block the workers and people from taking action, a decree was issued called the Law of State Defense and Security, providing a prison sentence of two to six years for any trade-union or political activities in opposition to the line of the military junta. In September, 1966, repressive action was begun against revolutionary parties and the unions.

Through bloody massacres, four of them since November 1964, with thousands killed, the army occupied the mines, took over or destroyed the union radio stations, and engaged in ruthless terrorism.

After this preparatory work, they called elections to give the dictatorship a semblance of legality. Despite the fraud, despite the oppressive machinations, Barrientos was supported by barely 30 percent of the voters. At the same time a controlled, docile parliament was set up in which all that is permitted is the hired opposition of the FSB [Bolivian Socialist Falange] and the PDC [Christian Democratic Party].

The legalized military dictatorship brought some civilians into the cabinet from parties that had been repudiated and forgotten by the masses but which the military caste restored to political life. The dictatorship resurrected these mummies in order to incorporate them into its ministries. It then utilized its power to create parties with numerous labels. This holds for the PIR, the PRA, the MPC, the PRN, PSP, and the PALIC which are only bureaucratic committees or mere letterheads. The lot of them do not have a hundred active cadres. This is the extent of the civilian support for the dictatorship.

Workers Resist

The people struck at the military caste the very day of the coup d'état, Nov. 4, 1964. It was clear to the masses that the military government would intensify the rightist course of the MNR regime, and with clear intuition they opposed it from the first moment. No sector of the workers or the populace was taken in.

As has been traditional, the miners led the struggle against the dictatorship. The military were unable to find the slightest fissure in the courageous, granite opposition of the miners. The factory workers similarly took their places in the opposition, although less militantly. The urban middle class, which at first remained hopeful, soon grasped the incompetent and counterrevolutionary nature of the military government, the turn to the left among the university students being spectacular. The teachers, too, lined up with the miners.

The dictatorship was unable to find a social base. It had no force with which to govern outside of the army. Consequently it employed violence against the masses.

The mines were converted into huge prisons with forced labor, in which work is carried on at bayonet point. With wages reduced by 50 percent, with personnel reduced by 30 percent, more must be produced than in November, 1964. All active unionists have been fired from the mines — the members of the POR [Revolutionary Workers Party, the Bolivian Section of the Fourth International], the PRIN [Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left], and the PCB [Bolivian Communist Party].

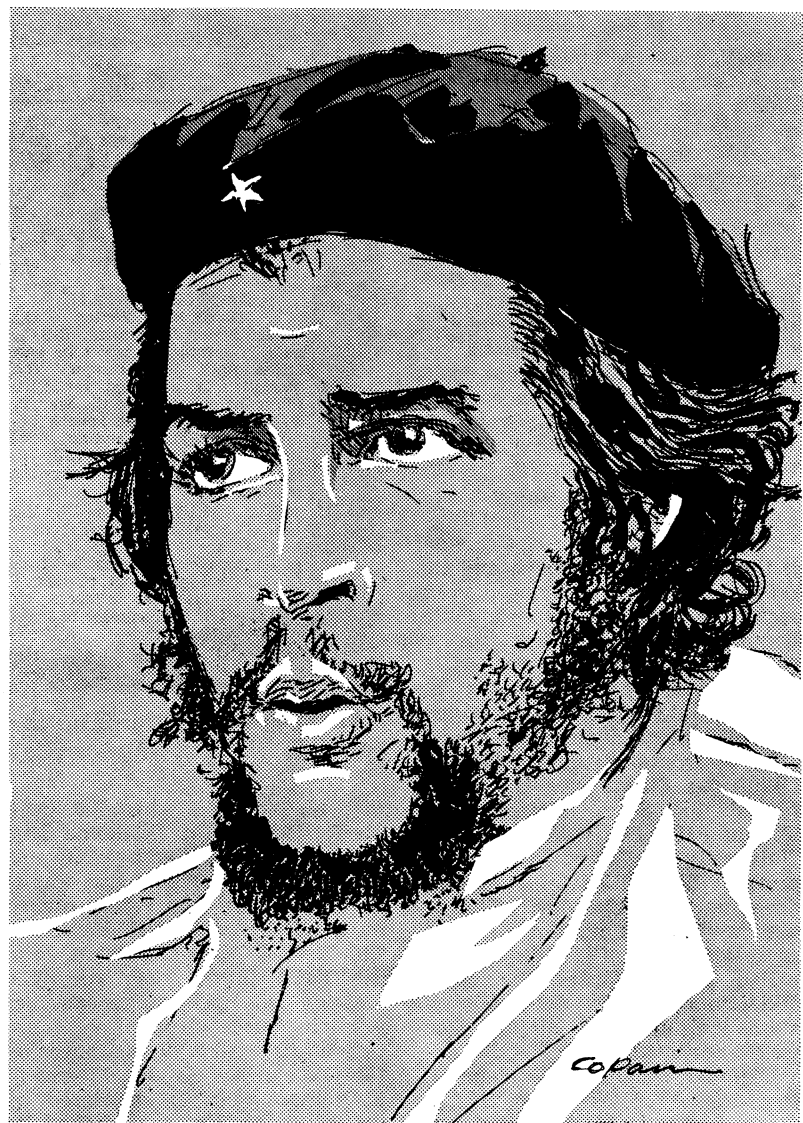
Any attempt to inspire union activities ends up with those involved being sent to prison or to a concentration camp. Up to the present, 8,000 workers have been fired from the mines for political or union activities and the purge is still going on. The same holds true for the factories, plants, offices, etc. Barrientos, nicknamed "General Massacre" and the "Cao Ky of Bolivia," has admitted that there are at present 500,000 unemployed out of a total population of 4,000,000.

The Barrientos government has continually alleged that it has the support of the Bolivian peasants. This is untrue, as could already be seen from the results of the 1966 elections in which a big proportion of the peasants abstained.

The peasants in the communities and former haciendas, clearly conscious of their interests, displayed lack of confidence in the military government from the beginning. The army has traditionally been the enemy of the peasant masses. But in addition to this, the peasants felt that with the seizure of power the former landlords and their agents began acting as if they had a new lease on life, and the old racial prejudice in the cities once again became noticeable with its invidious language about the "dirty Indian," and the disdainful and arrogant attitude to be seen among public officials and in the conduct of the authorities on a provincial and county level.

Thus there are no economic, social or political reasons why the peasant masses should feel attracted or obliged to support the Barrientos military regime. Just the contrary.

The truth is that the military dictatorship has bribed the bureaucracy based on the peasant artisans which was set up and corrupted by the MNR. This bureaucracy and the military dictatorship became amalgamated because their interests coincided. Without government support the bureau-



Che Guevara

crats would not have lasted a month; the military men in turn needed to control the countryside and block the peasants from mobilizing. Because of this, the peasant bureaucracy came to serve Barrientos and, with the help of the army, now controls, by means of armed violence, the most densely populated and restless centers of the countryside.

The Peasant Confederation and the departmental federations are the only organizations in existence, the rank-and-file peasant unions, their councils and subcouncils having been suppressed. These paid bureaucratic leaderships, many of them deputies and functionaries holding various posts, make up the government ministry. With the help of the army, they punish rebellious peasants with arson, murder, the confiscation of stock and crops and finally expulsion from their holdings.

Peasants Against Government

The broad peasant masses are against the military dictatorship; they are decidedly in favor of the guerrillas, but as yet they are unable to mobilize. They will do this, we are certain, at a more advanced stage of the struggle.

It has proved impossible to convert the Bolivian peasants into a conservative social force, a support for bourgeois governments. The reasons are clear. The agrarian reform, owing to its limitations, did not bring about an agricultural transformation. It did not change the system of cultivation; it did not increase production. Consequently the annual income of the peasants continues to be one of the lowest in the world. Misery, backwardness, disease persist.

The former colonized peasants, who received a bit of land in the case of haciendas affected by the Agrarian Reform of 1954, see this land today split up among their sons, now young men establishing families. In addition, the unemployment in the cities and mines, aside from the stagnation it induces in the countryside, aggravates the misery still more, since, directly or indirectly, the burden falls on the peasant family. It must not be forgotten that the urban and mine proletariat is half

peasant; now unemployed, they and their hungry children turn to their relatives dwelling in misery in the countryside.

Because of all this, the peasant masses in Bolivia, despite the Agrarian Reform, continue to remain a fighting force which, when the time comes, will break the chains of the bureaucracy and the army and join the mighty armed struggle of the Bolivian people.

(To be continued)

Detroit Jobs? —Ford Hoax

DETROIT — A cruel hoax was perpetrated upon the jobless and part-time and low paid workers of this city when the Ford Motor Company reached agreement with UAW officials for a new three-year contract. At that time Ford announced that 5,000 new jobs were available and that preference would be given applicants from among the "hard core unemployed of the inner city."

The unemployed and the poor came from all sections of town. Thousands stood in line throughout the night waiting for the two community centers — one on the east side of town and the other on the west side — to open and hire them. None were hired.

Antipoverty officials referred to the applicants as "mobs," blamed them for "disrupting our whole program," and found the confusion "reminiscent of the reaction to Ford's \$5-a-day offer in 1915."

Word came down the line that "they're not hiring women today, come back in three or four days." Then it was learned they are not hiring at all, "just leave your name and phone number."

The truth, as it turned out, is that there were no jobs at the Ford Motor Company beyond the regular rate of employment. It was all a cheap publicity stunt on the part of some ambitious public relations man to put Ford in a favorable light and add a few names to the company files to be drawn upon if needed.



Interview with Ralph Schoenman

The Situation in Bolivia

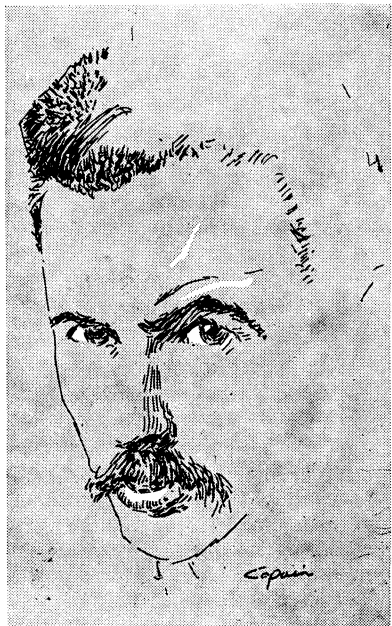
By Les Evans

Ralph Schoenman, Bertrand Russell's private secretary and an official of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, was interviewed by *The Militant* in New York Nov. 10 after his arrest and deportation from Bolivia by the Barrientos dictatorship.

Schoenman had been in Bolivia since July as part of the Commission of Enquiry sponsored by the Russell Foundation to help defend Régis Debray, the radical French journalist, on trial before a military court for allegedly taking part in the guerrilla movement in Bolivia. There is overwhelming evidence that Debray was in Bolivia purely as a journalist to interview the guerrillas. The trial is a blatant attempt to imprison Debray because of his political views.

The Commission of Enquiry, Schoenman said, "was composed of people who had some knowledge of the Debray case and a particular talent such as a working knowledge of the language or a technical skill such as the skill of Tariq Ali in photography."

In addition to Schoenman and Tariq Ali Khan, the commission of five included: Perry Anderson, editor of the *New Left Review*; Robin Blackburn, who had seen Debray in Havana shortly before he left for Paris en route to Bolivia and could substantiate Debray's journalistic credentials from two publishers; and Lothar Menne, a German who had lived in Mexico for some time and had



Régis Debray

an excellent knowledge of Spanish.

"We entered Bolivia from Lima," Schoenman told *The Militant*. "In Peru we had talked with Paz Estenssoro [former president of Bolivia, overthrown by the 1964 coup d'état led by General Barrientos], who is in exile in Lima, and although we did not entirely disclose our interest to him he was very helpful to us in terms of suggesting how we might get to Camiri."

"We entered La Paz and then we began to make approaches for the necessary credentials to get down to the guerrilla zone. At that time there were no journalists in Camiri. We were in fact the first who got there."

After a great many difficulties the necessary papers were secured, signed by the head of the armed forces himself, General Ovando.

"We hired a small Cessna," Schoenman continued, "a tiny one engine toy of a plane, and three of us flew in that to Camiri over the Andes, a very good experience."

Held

The three were arrested shortly after their arrival and held at gunpoint until an officer agreed to honor the signature of Ovando on their papers.

"Despite that we then got to Lagunillas which is the operational command of the Fourth Division from which they were launching their antiguerrilla actions in Nancahuazú. We had numerous talks with the army officers involved and were present when some of the captured guerrilla equipment, including documents, was brought in."

"The other members of the commission began to consider the importance of getting the material we had obtained out of Bolivia. So we sent out Lothar Menne with all our photographs and other things. And then Tariq Ali was picked up again and accused of being a guerrilla named Pombo, who in fact was Che's bodyguard, which is a little ludicrous because Tariq doesn't speak a word of Spanish and had never been in Latin America before. In Tariq's case, because the army officers are racist, they were resentful of a man with a brown skin and long black hair and a camera who traveled all over the world. . . . They threatened him and, since it became apparent that they were looking for a way of getting him, Tariq left."

See Debray

Shortly after this Robin Blackburn and Perry Anderson returned to England, leaving Schoenman alone in Bolivia:

"I remained there and continued to gather information and I was in touch with Régis; I was able to see him on a number of occasions alone, which was not easy to contrive but it was done with the help of some Bolivians. We had very long, thorough exchanges and I have a number of letters

and documents of Régis' which he wanted to get out of the country.

"Then we began to bribe some — how shall I put it? — army officers I suppose, and acquired important information relative to the fate of Régis and the fate of certain material witnesses. What became clear was that the Bolivian army doesn't take prisoners unless those prisoners cooperate — those who do not are dispatched."

"We were in a position to document this in a number of instances, the most egregious being that of Jorge Vasquez, who was a guerrilla captured not long after the first encounter in Nancahuazú."

Brave Man

"Jorge Vasquez was a very brave man indeed. He refused to accept anesthetic in order to show the military that he had no fear of pain. He knew very well what they were going to do to him. The order came from Barrientos to torture, to kill him. That order was refused by one officer, whom I won't name, but it was carried out by another officer named Major Ibes Alecon, who, together with one or two others, broke the four limbs of Vasquez and killed him. They cut open his chest as well."

"That took place in Camiri. He was taken out of the military hospital, so-called, and his body was disposed of."

Debray, shortly after his arrest in April, was also tortured and threatened with death:

"I can say definitely that Régis, apart from having been tortured systematically, his nails broken, beaten into a coma — he needed five blood transfusions — Régis was also taken in a helicopter and the effort was made to throw him out, but he was able to resist that."

"Then the army began a systematic interrogation of Régis and Bustos [an Argentine artist who had also spent time with the guerrillas and was arrested with Debray]. The interrogation was conducted by a man named Gonzales who is Puerto Rican and certainly a Central Intelligence Agency operative."

"The Argentinian police came up and their intelligence interrogated Bustos. It is fairly certain that there were Central Intelligence Agency operatives in that group as well."

Guerrilla Struggle

In commenting on the general political situation in Bolivia, Schoenman declared that in his opinion, despite the severe setback to the revolutionary movement in the death of Che Guevara, "the conditions of struggle are objectively right. The problem is mainly that of the subjective conditions."

Schoenman concluded with the comment that "When Che Guevara made his plans, he had a perspective of at least a decade of struggle in Bolivia. The struggle in Bolivia in this phase is no more than 11 or 12 months old. I'm sure it's going to unfold in the next decade in a form not very different from that expected by Che, in the large. In tactical terms there may be differences but in large I think Che's estimate is the correct one."

Schoenman was arrested Oct. 27 at Debray's trial in Camiri, when he attempted to read a prepared statement outlining violations of human rights and of the Bolivian constitution in the treatment of Debray and of guerrillas who had been captured.

After being held and interrogated for a week, he was put on a plane for Miami. The U.S. government is holding his passport, which was taken from him by Bolivian authorities. The U.S. refuses to allow him to return to his work in England, charging that as an American citizen his trips to North Vietnam for the International War Crimes Tribunal are grounds for revoking his passport. This ruling is being appealed.

REVIEWS
and
REPORTS

REBELLION IN NEWARK: OFFICIAL VIOLENCE AND GHETTO RESPONSE by Tom Hayden. Random House, 1967, 102 pp., \$3.95 cloth, \$1.65 paper.

Tom Hayden contributes to a clearer understanding of what happened in Newark from July 12 to July 17 of this year. What is most clear is the conclusion he draws, with supporting newspaper and documented eyewitness reports: the local police not only triggered the revolt, but they, the state police and national guardsmen are responsible for the many deaths. For despite the destruction of property, no one was killed until Democratic Mayor Addonizio unleashed the police and guardsmen with his "use any means necessary" order.

It was only after the pogrom order was issued that detective Toto and Fire Captain Moran were shot. The death of the white men then became the excuse for the wanton murder and execution of over 40 black men, women and children.

Photographs of one teenager's body showed 45 close-range bullet holes. Police and guardsmen openly stated that they were out to "kill all niggers." Democratic Governor Hughes, in the midst of the slaughter, openly expressed his "thrill of pride in the way our state police and national guardsmen conducted themselves."

Hayden is less clear on other matters. In the chapter "From Riot to Revolution," he says the military and police forces are somewhat disadvantaged in quelling "riots" in the ghetto. Speaking of "an American form of guerrilla warfare based in the slums," for which he says "the conditions are being created," he points to "certain built-in advantages for black people," likening their situation in some respects to Vietnam. "The community is theirs," he says.

But conditions favoring guerrilla warfare in Vietnam, Bolivia or any colonial country are not like those in the black ghettos of U.S. cities. Furthermore, the community is *in no way* ours. Not yet.

In the same chapter Hayden speaks about "conscious guerrillas" and assesses "revolutionary consciousness." Then he cautions against "radical illusions about revolution." This is confusing. He ends the chapter by pointing out that though "tactics of violence and disorder may create possibili-

ties for meaningful change in shattering the status quo, only politics and organization can transform it."

Although this is a good point, it begs the question: What *kind* of politics? What *kind* of organization? Hayden's answer is: "community structures needed to bargain for and maintain control over funds from the government and private sources." This is hardly an answer.

While Tom Hayden has rendered a service in describing what happened during the revolt, he fails to touch upon issues of basic importance. The one problem that thinking black people are now concerned with is control of the ghetto. But control on *all* levels, political and economic as well. And the right to police our own community. In short, all the rights this country (using black men) is allegedly fighting for in Vietnam, for Asians. The right of complete self-determination. For that we need our own party. Not just "community structures" controlled by the Democratic Party and its Uncle Thomas job holders, to dribble out poverty funds.

The rebellion in Newark can only be understood in the context of what is occurring in American capitalist society, a word the author steers clear of. He doesn't mention it once. Nor does he name the Democratic and Republican parties as the *capitalist* political organs they are, responsible for causing the uprising and the repression. In fact, he barely mentions the Democrats and Republicans at all!

While Hayden merely generalizes about the "political bankruptcy" of white society, black people are becoming more aware that it is the total *capitalist* system sowing the seeds of revolt. We feel its brutal weight. The people of Newark know that it was the plenipotentiaries of *capitalism*, the Democratic governor and the Democratic mayor, who used savage police power to crush those who dared to rebel.

The main lesson to be drawn is that Afro-Americans must break with the party of the Addonizios, the Hugheses and the Johnsons. Organize black mass action through our own independent political party starting with the ghetto and spreading to represent black people all over this nation. That's the real answer to the Democratic Party of "law-and-order" lynchers.

—Larry Stewart



Newark, 1967

...Rusk

(Continued from Page 1)

stration and was an eyewitness to the brutality of the cops:

One girl was surrounded by cops. When she began to scream they clubbed her and dragged her down the street. A young man, bleeding from a gash in his head was being shoved down the street by a cop. The cop lashed out and hit him with his club to make him move faster. The demonstrator turned and hit the cop back.

When the cops had cleared the corner they backed off.

By 7:30 the demonstration began to disperse, moving downtown along Sixth Ave. Limousines were driving up the street on their way to the banquet. Hundreds of young people began to try out tactics that were used in recent demonstrations in Oakland: spreading out over a large area to disperse the cops, then blocking the streets, while avoiding direct confrontations with the cops or arrest.

The demonstrators went as far south as 42nd street where they briefly encircled a recruiting station in Times Square. Hundreds would cross and recross streets in the middle of the block, snarling traffic and stopping limousines bound for the Rusk meeting.

The police would form flying wedges or ride up on horseback to break up groups of demonstrators. A few were caught and clubbed but most managed to get away and re-form further down the street.

The demonstration continued until past 11 p.m. When it was over, more than 70 demonstrators had been arrested. Police announced that at least two cops had been injured. A significant aspect of the demonstration was the large numbers of black youth who took part, far more than in previous antiwar protests.

The new spirit of outrage and militancy that marked this demonstration indicates that Rusk and the other warmakers, especially Lyndon Johnson, in their deepening isolation from the masses of the American people, are going to have to treat every public appearance they make as an armed foray into enemy territory.

STOCK MARKET DECLINE

Trouble Ahead for U.S. Economy?

By Ed Smith

The sharp decline in stock prices beginning in September reveals that there is considerable uncertainty about the future of the economy among a number of investors. This is so despite reassurances from Johnson and his advisers that all is going well and may even get better.

When October ended, the administration heralded it as the 81st month of economic expansion and consequently the longest business cycle in U.S. history. "New Economics" experts were quick to take credit for the miracle.

But the truth of the matter is the realities of the present economic situation and its future direction are much more complex than this. There is no little disagreement even among policy makers about what economic course the federal government should adopt — and uncertainty on this question alone is sufficient to cause instability in the stock market.



New York Stock Exchange

There are fundamentally three conflicting tendencies at work in the American economy today, and this has been the case since at least the beginning of the year and perhaps as early as mid-1966 (see "Economy at Turning Point," *The Militant*, March 20). The three tendencies are: the stimulative effect of war production; the inflationary effect of war production; and the recessionary effect of domestic overproduction.

Production of war machinery always cuts two ways in a capitalist economy. On one side it provides jobs and incomes for workers employed in the war factories. This can reduce unemployment and provide additional funds for the consumption of consumer goods and to that extent it can stimulate the economy.

The Vietnam war, arising as it did late in the business cycle which began in 1961, is unquestionably the central factor that propelled that cycle to its historic length. There is no miracle about that and it had nothing to do with the fiscal and monetary policies of the "new economists"; it resulted from imperialist policies.

But the other side of war production is its inflationary effect. War production causes inflation to the extent it is funded by federal deficits, because it is a question of the government's pumping money into an economy where there is no corresponding increase of useful products to be consumed.

Consumers in toto have more money to spend, but the economy has not produced correspondingly more consumer products; it has produced war machines instead. Consequently the capitalists raise the prices of consumer goods to grab off this additional consumer purchasing power — and use the profits for further war investment.

Even though war production provides jobs and raises employment to higher levels than can ever be reached by a capitalist economy in peace time, this by no means profits the working class. Every recent war has been accompanied

by higher prices and lower real wages.

There is another by-product of deficit spending which can have considerable influence on the stock exchange. This is the fact that it drives up interest rates. Central banks, whose major client is the federal government, charge higher interest rates on federal loans and this exerts an upward pressure on all other interest rates. We will return to this question later.

Two of the conflicting forces in the present economy, then, are the stimulative effects of war production on one side and its inflationary effects on the other side. The third force is domestic overproduction. Ultimately in every capitalist business cycle, more machinery has been produced than capitalists have need for, and more consumer goods have been produced than consumers have the money to purchase.

Such a point cannot be pinned down to the day, week or month. There are numerous industries and products involved, each proceeding at different rates and providing different markets. What happens is that first one, then a few industries begin cutting back on production. A cumulative effect begins to develop as more and more workers are laid off: Their purchasing power declines and their ability to absorb consumer products decreases. Ultimately the total economy is affected and total production begins to shrink.

These factors are further complicated by industries hedging against strikes. Even when overproduction had been reached in the automobile industry last summer, the Big Three increased production to prepare to wear down the UAW walkout. The same thing is happening in steel production right now.

Finally, war production itself exacerbates overproduction in the consumer market to the extent it drives prices and interest rates up; it eases overproduction to the extent it provides greater con-

sumer purchasing power. To detect the exact point of domestic overproduction is not nearly so important as recognizing its cumulative effect in the economy as a whole.

The result of an economy pulled on one side by inflationary pressures and on the other by recessionary pressures has been a long stagnation, beginning perhaps as early as a year and a half ago. This is clearly illustrated by the *Business Week* index of total production. For the week ended Oct. 28, this figure stood at 157.7, down from 159.0 of October a year ago, and equal to the production levels of July 1966. This hardly describes an "expanding" economy.

What investors are worried about is whether this stagnation will last and what will happen afterwards. There are important signs that an incipient recession can turn into an actual recession even in spite of war production. There is real uncertainty about what the Johnson administration will do, or even can do, to alleviate the situation.

[To be concluded next week]

Boston Mayoralty Race: Fox Wins Out Over Wolf

By Linda Sheppard

BOSTON — There was national interest in the Boston city elections as racial issues dominated the "non-partisan" campaign. On Nov. 7 Kevin White defeated Mrs. Louise Day Hicks in a close race by receiving 54 percent of the vote.

Mrs. Hicks, the former chairwoman of the Boston School Committee, became well known for her opposition to the state racial imbalance law. She ran an openly racist campaign centering on the issues of increased and improved police "protection" and opposition to busing of black children to non-ghetto schools. Her whole program was summed up in her major campaign slogan, "You know where I stand."

White posed as the establishment liberal, but found himself stumped in finding issues — since he agreed in principle with Hicks' program. On the question of quelling racial disturbances, White felt that nonlethal weapons, such as spray cans of nausea-inducing chemicals, should be developed. Mrs. Hicks just said, "When I send the Boston police force in to quell a riot, I want you to quell it with the weapons you have."

Both felt that the cops, after all they had been through during the summer, deserved a raise.

At first the overriding issue in the campaign became the racial imbalance law. White quickly joined Hicks in opposing forcible busing and reduced the dispute to one of detail and amendments.

Both ignored the core of the Boston school problem, that is, inferior ghetto schools and the fact that they haven't been improved. This is a result of the lack of control of the schools by the black community.

The black voters of Boston were presented with a case of choosing between a wolf or a fox. The majority chose what they thought was the lesser evil. The three predominantly Afro-American wards piled up a majority of nearly 8,000 votes for White. This was the heaviest turnout in the Rox-

bury wards in recent election history. White had not even bothered to campaign in these wards, as he knew that he had the black vote in his hip pocket.

The defeat of Hicks is being hailed by the liberal press as a blow to the white backlash and a great advance for the Afro-American cause. Actually, the race was a very close one, with Hicks winning a strong 46 percent of the vote. She has announced her intention to run again in four years; in the meantime, has called upon Bostonians to unite behind the leadership of Kevin White. Obviously, she and her supporters feel that there is no real threat in doing so and White has made plain that he accepts her support.

Hopefully, by the time of the next election, the groundwork will have been laid in Roxbury to run independent black candidates, with a program based on the needs of the Afro-American community, who can provide a real alternative to the wolf and the fox.

GI Outbreak At Fort Hood

The Berkeley Barb and The Bond, an antiwar newspaper for GIs published in Berkeley, Calif., have both carried accounts from a GI at Fort Hood, Texas, of a reported riot there Oct. 3 by men of the 198th Light Infantry Brigade who had been ordered to Vietnam.

We have been unable to verify the report, as men of that unit were shipped to Vietnam Oct. 4, but there is a widespread belief among GIs in other units at Fort Hood that the riot took place.

According to Pvt. "Scotty" Frame, damage was estimated at \$150,000. One report alleges that a Second Lieutenant was killed by the GIs. GIs at Fort Hood maintain that men involved in the antiwar mutiny are being held secretly in the stockade. Authorities at Fort Hood are silent.

Black Liberation Notes

The president of Central State University in Wilberforce, Ohio, was forced to close down the school on Nov. 14 as a result of clashes between students and cops. Three hundred national guardsmen were called in to occupy the campus of the predominantly black school.

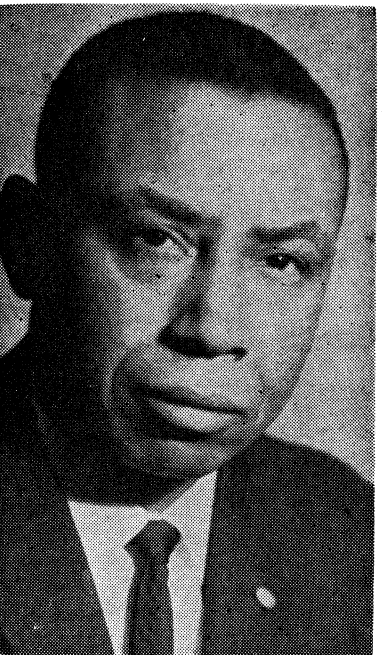
The clash came after the University administration expelled militant campus activist Michael Warren on Nov. 9 and warned him that if he ever set foot again on campus he would be arrested for trespassing. When Warren appeared on campus Nov. 13, almost 50 students surrounded him to protect him from arrest. Later that night, 40 state police advanced on a crowd of students, after ordering them to disperse. Ninety-one persons were arrested.

Warren's expulsion was part of a deliberate attempt by the University to clamp down on campus militants. Central State students recently participated in a sit-in at Wilberforce University, adjacent to Central State, in support of nonacademic employees at Wilberforce who are negotiating a labor contract.

A conference of black youth is slated for Los Angeles Nov. 23-25. It is one of a number of regional

gatherings scheduled to precede a National Black Youth Conference at the end of the year. Further information can be obtained from Black Youth Conference, 711½ West 49th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

The 600 national guardsmen



Floyd McKissick

who were called out to put down a student protest at predominantly black Grambling College, in Grambling, La., have finally left campus.

Grambling is well known as the nation's top source of professional football players, and this is part of the reason for the protests. More than 2,000 of the 4,200 students at the school have demonstrated against what they believe is an overemphasis on athletics at the expense of academic standards. This "overemphasis" is reflected in the fact that the school's president, Dr. R.W.E. Jones, is also head coach of the basketball team. One of the student demands is that he give up one of these jobs.

CORE has pledged support for the defense of playwright LeRoi Jones, who is appealing his recent conviction for possession of weapons during the Newark rebellion last summer.

CORE National Chairman Floyd McKissick told reporters at a news conference Nov. 11 that Jones' appeal would test the right of black people to bear arms, "despite my belief, based on what Mr. Jones has told me, that they had no weapons."

—Elizabeth Barnes

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Report From Abroad

Hellerup, Denmark

The Oct. 21 demonstration in Copenhagen was a huge success: 15,000 people turned out. The main slogan was "U.S. Out!" I was given a big sign with a picture of Ho Chi Minh on one side and "U.S. Out!" on the other.

There is a real desire here to internationalize the antiwar movement. But there could be a lot more coordination from the U.S. There's no question that the U.S. has to be the coordinator, but they haven't been doing as good a job as they could.

I read a recent article in *World Outlook* on the West German SDS [Socialist Students Association of Germany]. I was really impressed. The *National Guardian* had an article on SDS too. They shouldn't have bothered to print it. They mentioned the "Commune" (a bunch of Mao-type, beat hippies) who are always persecuted by the authorities in Berlin. These are hardly the "heroes" of SDS as the *Guardian* reports, although SDS defends them.

The anti-Shah demonstration drew an attack by the authorities centered on the Commune. I was living in Berlin at the time.

The cops tried to split SDS by getting them to purge their own ranks. SDS responded beautifully with an illegal demonstration. The Commune marched in the middle of the parade dressed in white sheets, surrounded and guarded by the rest of the demonstrators.

The cops had demanded that SDS provide one monitor for every 50 demonstrators. The students did another great thing: They had 50 monitors for every demonstra-

tor. A group of 50 with armbands and a sign saying "Monitors" was followed by one man with a sign saying "Demonstrator," another 50, another one, etc.; all with signs. What a put-down.

Another incident: Every year the government has an official rally in support of the 1953 "revolution" in East Berlin (covering up the fact that those were workers' demonstrations against bureaucratic misrule, not "anticommunist" or pro-Western revolts).

This year SDS held a counter-rally — 2,000-3,000 compared to 10,000 at the government demonstration. I attended the SDS rally, and what did I hear? Three speakers discussing the nature of the East German and West German governments — one full hour of the history of Stalinism (using that word). A Trotskyist analysis through and through. Times are changing!

I commend you once again for the great quality and clear thinking of *The Militant* articles. Antiwar leaders here in Denmark like it a lot. They've used it a great deal for ideas in the debates within the movement. You've done more to help radicals understand black power than you can imagine.

P. C.

Recruiter Repulsed

Santa Cruz, Calif.

I am a student at the University of California at Santa Cruz, and I'm writing this letter to make sure that people who care will know about the demonstration here on Nov. 1 to protest the arrival of an Air Force recruiter on campus.

The recruiter was expected on campus Nov. 1 and 2. There was a meeting on Oct. 30 to decide on what kind of action to take. The meeting was divided into two factions: one planned to picket and the other planned boldly to block the recruiter's car. Two major issues were involved: (1) Would stopping the recruiter from carrying out his job be depriving him of his right to free speech? (2) The administration had refused the students the right to set up a table for the counseling of conscientious objectors in the same office as the Air Force recruiter's table.

At 7:30 a.m. Nov. 1 approximately 300 students (about 15 percent of the student body) assembled to await the 8:00 arrival of the recruiter. At 9:00 we got word that he would not arrive until 10:30. We dispersed temporarily and reassembled at 10:00. At 11:00 word came that the recruiter had already arrived in the town of Santa Cruz. At 11:30 we were informed that "due to unforeseen circumstances" he would not come to the campus either on Nov. 1 or 2.

Those sympathetic to the demonstration and the demonstrators themselves feel that this is a moral victory and that we have helped the antiwar movement in some way.

K. W.

Draft Unconstitutional?

Baltimore, Md.

Let us consider the wording of Article XIII in the United States Constitution, and see whether it might not be used in a test case to upset the peacetime military draft:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

I'd like to see some draftee engage an interested attorney and fight conscription as "involuntary servitude."

Secondarily, isn't removing a young man forcibly from his cir-

cumstances and life-plans very much like "punishment"?

The centrality of the draft is apparent; without these helpless numbers at his disposition, the President couldn't contemplate foreign adventures like the infamous Vietnam war.

C. L.

Death of Che

New York, N. Y.

The death of Che Guevara stunned me more deeply than that of any other political figure in my 23 years. (By chance I happened to be listening to the radio on the motorcade in Dallas when Kennedy was assassinated. The shock came and went in a matter of moments.) The aura of confusion and doubt that surrounded the official Bolivian accounts on Che caused a sustained sense of loss. Undoubtedly Che was one of those rare figures who captures and keeps the imagination of a generation.

Although the death of Che has been confirmed, there still remain so many unanswered questions. What happened to the rebel movement? Where and why did it fail? Where did the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare, of which Che was the acknowledged master, go wrong? How did Che allow himself to get trapped in that canyon? ...

It takes no imagination to understand that U.S. officials would go to any length to prevent another Castro-type Latin American revolution. Add to this the rumors that

the legendary Che was personally leading the rebels and it is easy to see that Washington would give top priority to suppressing the revolution. This, we know, has in fact been the case. American counterinsurgency advisers were reported in Bolivia during the summer.

By all press accounts the Bolivian ranger force involved in the antirebel operation was trained, if not led, by American officers. The size of the antiguerrilla effort in itself paid tribute to the talents of Che. The barbaric manner in which the reactionary Barrientos regime treated the corpse revealed the fear and anxiety that this revolutionary inspired in death as in life.

In many ways Che Guevara paralleled Leon Trotsky, in the context of Latin American politics. The young Trotsky, that is.

The death of Che will not be forgotten.

Jack Alan Robbins
Teaching Fellow,
Fordham University

Commendation

Bel Air, Md.

I commend the sincerity and integrity evident in the paper and

it is hoped that the high quality journalism will continue.

D. R.

Madison Avenue

Philadelphia, Pa.

Apparently the capitalist class wants us to believe in God and other such superstitions, and from the sound of one ad I saw in the newspaper, it even believes in its own superstitions. The ad said "Santa Claus apply in person."

On a New York City subway I saw an ad for temporary office work, which showed a picture of pretty fireworks in the background and bore the words, "Join the Olsten Temporary Revolution." I guess that's for a temporary solution to your economic problems. If you want a more permanent solution, I suggest Trotsky.

Amy Lowenstein

Revolutionary Baptism

Rochester, N.Y.

I have just about finished reading the article, "Fidel on the Death of Che." It makes me feel that the time has arrived when all revolutionaries can be baptised with the spirit, the vision and the valor of Guevara.

W.M.

Thought for the Week

"I can tell Johnson how to get unity. Just let somebody drop bombs on Silver Springs, Md., and Falls Church, Va., and he will get unity. The American people then would feel just about as I imagine the people of Hanoi and Haiphong feel." — Senator Aiken (R-Vt.).

Weekly Calendar

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

BOSTON

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. Speaker: Peter Buch, socialist and former Zionist. Fri., Dec. 1, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Hall 307. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

BLACK POWER AND ITS ROLE INTERNATIONALLY. Speaker from SNCC. Fri., Nov. 24, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75 cents. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate; and Paul Boutelle, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Mon., Nov. 27, 8 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Aup. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

NEW YORK

BLACK FREEDOM IN CUBA AS I SAW IT. Speaker: Charles P. Howard, Sr., president of the Howard News Syndicate whose features are carried by the *Baltimore Afro-American*, *Muhammad Speaks* and other newspapers. Also, Floyd Nichols, one of the five students charged with the death of an officer during the police attack on Texas Southern University will present the facts of this case. Fri., Nov. 24, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

CHE GUEVARA MEMORIAL MEETING. Speaker: Charles Scheer, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 24, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis. Aup. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

It Was Reported in the Press

Want Protection from Riffraff?

— Hufstader Cadillac, Inc., in Pittsburgh is offering a second-hand bullet-proof car for only \$22,000 — original price, \$40,000. It was built "for His Highness Shaikh Abdullah Moobarrak Al-Sabah of Kuwait, a small but very rich oil kingdom in the Middle East," Hufstader explains. Besides bullet-proof glass and steel armor plate, the four-ton car features a "pull-out standing platform and exterior hand-holds for guards between front and rear doors," plenty of head room for "inside body-guard rifles" and "three pull-out jump seats for interior guards."

Normal American Boy — "I'm not a warmonger but flying over the beach [into North Vietnam] is a great thrill, like playing Russian roulette, taking LSD or having sex," explains John Newman, lieutenant in the U.S. Navy.

Free World Ally — On Chiang Kai-shek's island paradise recently, a 15-year-old youth was sentenced to 12½ years in jail for stealing 12½ cents. Judge Lee Shih-lu told the criminal that he would have sentenced him to death if he had been an adult.

Peril? — Everybody knows that Secretary of State Rusk didn't mean to suggest the theory of the danger of the "yellow peril" when he suggested it a few weeks back. FBI chief J. Edgar wasn't referring to it either when he expressed concern recently over "the potential threat posed by increased immigration of Chinese to this country."

Frugal — Luong Nhi Ky (any relation?), the Saigon regime's consul general here in the U.S., recently moved into a \$400-a-month apartment in San Francisco. He plans to have his Mercedes shipped out from Washington soon. "We'll have a pretty small budget," Ky explains, "because we are a nation at war and don't indulge in any luxury at all."

Mixed View — But there are compensations for Consul General Ky. He has a spectacular view of the Bay from a picture window. The view from the other side of the apartment, however, leaves something to be desired. A poster on a window across the street calls for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. It was put up by proponents of the recent referendum on the war held in San Francisco.

Better Have Strong Ears — LBJ has a new dog, named Yuki. Yuki is to take the place of Him and Her, the two beagles who died young in the White House. LBJ says Him was run over by a car in the White House driveway. Her, he said, "swallowed a stone."

"LBJ" — The greatest man in the world has affixed his brand to ranches, parks and his relatives' names. Others have picked up the

idea, for example the GIs in the Long Binh stockade in South Vietnam. They call it the "Long Binh Jail" — or "LBJ," for short.

Inside LBJ — More GIs are in Long Binh Jail for smoking pot than for any other offense. Brig. Gen. Harley Moore, Jr., said that the weed has also been found on sentries, MPs and inside the stockade. John Steinbeck IV, son of the novelist, recently served a year in Vietnam, and reports that three-fourths of the troops use marijuana.

Progress in Florida — Following two student protest rallies, Dr. Robert A. Goldstein was reinstated as associate professor of history at the University of South Florida. He had been suspended after reports that in a classroom lecture he had "used a four-letter word describing human waste."

—Barry Sheppard

FOR NEW READERS

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Stokes-Hatcher Victory: A Real Gain for Blacks?

By Elizabeth Barnes

The electoral victories of Carl Stokes in Cleveland and Richard Hatcher in Gary have important implications for the future of the black liberation movement, but they will not change the conditions of black people in these cities. H. Rap Brown recently summed up the meaning of the Stokes election when he characterized it as "neo-colonialism" and called Stokes a "puppet of the Democratic Party and the U.S. government."

Both candidates received the support of the national Democratic Party. Such top Democrats as Humphrey and Kennedy made special efforts to aid their campaigns. And although Hatcher adapted more to the sentiments of the black community than did Stokes, both are in essential agreement with the ruling class on all important issues.

At the same time, the Stokes and Hatcher victories are important as a reflection of the heightened political and nationalist consciousness in the black community. Stokes and Hatcher were both elected because Afro-Americans in these two cities voted black. Hatcher received 95 percent of the black vote, and Stokes received 94.5 percent. In five black districts in Cleveland, Stokes' white opponent, Seth Taft, didn't get a single vote.

Although they are adapting to it by running black candidates, Democratic Party politicians do not like the nationalist or "race" consciousness that was reflected in the vote. Stokes faithfully kowtowed to their feelings by using the campaign slogan, "Don't vote for a Negro . . . Vote for a man."

Capitalist politicians are afraid that black people will start to feel the very real potential political power which they have if they unite to support, not a Democratic Party candidate, but a party of their own.

A Nov. 12 *New York Times* editorial summed up the feelings of many politicians when it commented, "Last Tuesday's elections in Cleveland, Gary and parts of the South translated 'black power,' that mischievous and opaque slogan, into the only meaningful terms it can have: political success achieved through the democratic process."

Not only do those who run this country hope that the election of black candidates will dampen the struggle in the streets, but they hope it will keep black people loyal to the Democratic Party. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, columnists for the *New York Post*, described the elections as constituting "a plus for the White House

by averting a mass 1968 defection of Negro voters."

The results of the election give important clues as to what strategy is correct for the black struggle. First of all, they show definitively that the masses of black people are still looking to the electoral process and the Democratic Party to change things. The voters came out in record numbers. It was the biggest election turnout in the history of Gary, and the total Cleveland vote exceeded every year since 1933. In both cities, the percentage of registered Afro-Americans who voted was bigger than that of whites.

When black people voted for Stokes and Hatcher, they voted for men who have already shown clearly that they do not represent the black community on important issues. In a city where 10,000 signers of a recent petition for an antiwar referendum came from the black community, Stokes takes the position of "standing with the President" on Vietnam.

(Continued on Page 3)



Photo by Shannon

NEW YORK RUSK DEMONSTRATION. Line of cops, backed by cops on horseback, squeezed demonstrators onto sidewalks, and blocked streets, preventing many demonstrators from reaching the area. Over 10,000 were able to express their anger over the continuing war, however, in militant and spirited action. (See Page 1.)

Chicago Trade Union Meeting Against War

By Fred Halstead

CHICAGO, Nov. 12 — Despite AFL-CIO President George Meany's prowar position on Vietnam, "there exists at all levels in our unions the same disquiet, frustration and opposition that characterize the American people as a whole." So reads the statement of policy adopted here today at the close of a weekend antiwar conference entitled "Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace." The conference itself proved beyond any doubt the truth of that statement.

It was attended by some 520 union officials from 50 International Unions and from 38 states. Over 50 of the participants were vice presidents, secretary-treasurers or executive board members of International Unions.

The assembly was dominated by two distinct but interrelated themes: 1) the importance of encouraging widespread discussion on, and opposition to, the war at all levels of the union movement, including the rank and file, and 2) the sharpest criticism by the United Auto Workers officials present of the Meany-dominated top AFL-CIO officialdom.

"Whatever we gain at the bargaining table will come to naught if the administration pursues the path it has been pursuing recently," declared Amalgamated Garment Workers Secretary-Treasurer Frank Rosenblum, one of the as-

sembly's sponsors. Rosenblum appealed to the union leaders to mobilize the vast public opinion that the unions represent against the war policy of the administration. This theme was hammered home by most of the scheduled speakers, including those not from the labor movement itself, such as Professor Kenneth Galbraith, Dr. Martin Luther King, journalist David Schoenbrun, and Senators Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) and Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.). On this theme, there was a striking similarity between the remarks of Galbraith, the Senators, and the two major UAW speakers, UAW International Affairs Director Victor Reuther and UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey. Criticism by these speakers of the Democratic Party administration was muted, and they implored the audience to bring to bear the pressure of the labor movement to change the policies of the present administration, as if that were possible without a break from the administration. The facts some of them presented were, however, extremely interesting.

Galbraith said that during the Kennedy administration, when the U.S. had "only 20,000 'advisers' in Vietnam," he had been sent there to investigate a request by the military for a division of U.S. troops to be sent to the Delta area. Since this was an obvious violation of the Geneva Agreements, which the U.S. was at that time making a pretense at observing, he said the suggestion was to send the troops as "flood control workers." He said he advised against it at the time.

Victor Reuther gave a scathing indictment of Meany's AFL-CIO International Affairs Department, detailing how it has been acting as an agency of the U.S. State Department and the CIA. He described how it had participated in the coup d'état which overthrew the elected liberal Goulart government of Brazil and, in the process, helped to weaken auto workers' unions there. Reuther explained the trade union issues which divided the UAW and the Meany-dominated AFL-CIO as a result of these activities. U.S. industry, said Reuther, has become international through the emergence of multinational corporations over the world that even interchange parts, such as Ford, General Motors and Chrysler with

its connection with Finca and other "foreign" firms. This has required the UAW to set up international collective bargaining procedures, to try to even out wage and union conditions in the industry. He said world GM and Ford auto workers councils were being formed to coordinate collective bargaining, but that the AFL-CIO "obsession with anti-Communism" has led it to "open collaboration" with the most right-wing, anti-union agencies "both at home and abroad" and has made it more difficult for the UAW to be respected or to achieve cooperation in its "legitimate trade union efforts" overseas. "The listing of organizations with which the AFL-CIO under Meany has affiliated itself," declared Reuther, "comprises the listing of almost all major rightist groups in the U.S. and in South American affairs." He accused the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department of helping to arrange "fascist, corporate-state unions" in several countries overseas.

Mazey's attack on Meany was equally sharp. The AFL-CIO executive council's statement against dissent on Vietnam, he said, "followed the disgraceful and vulgar conduct of AFL-CIO President George Meany when he ordered the Sergeant-at-Arms at the 1965 San Francisco Convention to 'throw the kooks out.'" (Antiwar demonstrators in the gallery had held up signs protesting the war at the convention.)

Mazey also voiced some Johnny-come-lately criticism of the tactics employed within the antiwar movement, saying he opposed such actions as the march on the Pentagon, sit-ins at draft boards, etc. But it was clear from the widespread remarks in the corridors that the student-radical based antiwar movement had shaken up these union officials, and a pervasive underlying concern was that they had lost connection with and control over the youthful activists attracted to the antiwar movement.

There was considerable respect expressed for these youth, as well. At one point in a plenary discussion a delegate raised the point that the union officials were putting their heads "on the block" by opposing the war. Abe Feinglass, a vice president of the Meat Cutters, responded: "Our youngsters' heads are on the block. They face the draft and they fight against

the war. Yes, our heads are on the block. So be it. Some things are that important. I tell you now, and I don't care who hears it. I sat through that scene at the San Francisco convention, and I admired those kids in the balcony."

The statement of purpose adopted by the assembly declared that "to remain silent in this crucial period would constitute a betrayal of the finest traditions of independence, forthrightness and moral leadership which are the heritage of the American labor movement. . . . We believe this war is immoral. We believe our continued involvement in the war is contrary to the best interests of the country. We believe there can be no justification for expending the precious lives of our American youth and destroying ever larger numbers of Vietnamese men, women and children." The statement also called for a bombing halt and U.S. negotiations with the National Liberation Front.

The call-for-negotiations position was presented by obvious prior arrangement of the leading participants. During discussion on the statement, which was adopted without change, several delegates, almost all of them women, made the point that their members were concerned most about the lives of their relatives in Vietnam, and that the only way to assure their safety was to demand that they be brought home.

Several of the prominent speakers, including Galbraith, King and Admiral True, referred to the recent San Francisco referendum where 37 percent voted for withdrawal of U.S. troops. They said they preferred a "negotiations" wording, but so large a vote for withdrawal was a stunning rebuke of Johnson's policy. Admiral True, whose son recently returned from Vietnam, said "if you take a poll of our boys in Vietnam they probably would much rather be supported at home than in Vietnam."

The assembly decided to publish the various speeches for distribution within and without the labor movement and set up a continuations committee to disseminate material and encourage future assemblies on a regional and local as well as national level. It was made clear that this assembly was not a caucus to prepare for the AFL-CIO convention in Miami next month, but delegates to that convention were urged to "let your consciences be your guide."



Photo by Hermes

VETS BLAST WAR. New York Veterans for Peace, and Veterans and Reservists Against the War held demonstration of 700 in Union Square on Veterans' Day, Nov. 11.